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‘OR FRUITFULLEST VIRGINIA WHO
DID EVER VIEW?’¹—a discussion of
English travel writing relating to
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P.A.S. Harvey

There can be no more appropriate place to start a preliminary discussion of travel literature relating to the New World than with the words of Caliban, whose name means darkness (if we accept the gypsy derivation) and yet who speaks the best poetry in *The Tempest*:²

Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises...

The speech is an appropriate place to start because it concentrates some of the intense ambivalence which characterised the literate discovery of the New World. Caliban would seem to have been incapable of fine feeling, and so far failed to understand his place and social obligation that he tried to rape Miranda; he would seem to be the lowest form of savage ‘on whom nurture will not stick’, and the blackness in his name may well link him with the ‘savages’ of Africa. It seems in the logic of the drama that it is appropriate that Caliban serves. And yet the poignancy of his dream shows a sensitive appreciation all its own. He understands the isle. And perhaps we can find here, informing Prospero’s magic and behind Caliban’s response, the accession of optimistic enthusiasm that a

new continent and new peoples brought: perhaps Caliban's speech does contradict our bleakest apprehensions, suggesting that the ethnocentricity of the Early Modern English was not as absolute as it seems. And it is between these two poles that the travel writings swing: the ethnocentricity of the originating culture, which places the foreign culture where it can be understood, (hence Caliban is a 'vile slave' justifiably expropriated), and against this the wish to understand and describe sympathetically the ways another people and world had found to live.

But it would be naive to suggest that ethnocentricity in the writings was balanced by a more 'modern' open-mindedness. Indeed, all the writings were subject to diverse influences: an example of this in a different context is cited by C. Haigh in *The Reign of Elizabeth* which shows how the *Annales* written by William Camden reflects a changing political climate. Haigh notes:⁹ "The emphases of the *Annales* were conditioned by the atmosphere in which it was written and published. In the first years of James I, Elizabeth was praised for the peace and prosperity of her reign; but by the 1610s and after it was usual to stress the glories of her rule and her patronage of international Protestantism and English sea power. The virtues and successes of Elizabeth were therefore defined by the flaws and omissions of James... in the guise of a history of a rule of Elizabeth." In just same way the travel literature, especially that relating to the New World, mediated the preoccupations, personal, political and cultural of the writers involved.

One of those preoccupations, and perhaps the most immediately significant for a literary analysis, is the immensely important nostalgia that informs much of the promotional literature. It is this nostalgia that fuels descriptions of the new lands with myths of another place: a land in which there is harmony, plenty, comfort and untroubled life. The other

place took many forms: it could be a rediscovered Eden, it could be Ovid's Golden world, or Plato's Atlantis, it could be More's Utopia (both an influence on and product of nostalgia), it could be a land of gold, solving personal and political problems in one fell swoop (as in the case of Raleigh and El Dorado), it could be Norumbega,⁴⁾ or The Seven Cities,⁵⁾ or even Arcadia,⁶⁾ which was the name given by Verrazzano to modern Nova Scotia in 1524. Part of the hope that drove intellectual thought across the sea was the willingness to return to a more perfect origin, which meant paradoxically that the discovery of the new was in some senses the rediscovery of the old, and this is a strand that can be traced in much renaissance writing. It tells us much about the period that the nostalgic myth was so consistently compelling. It framed an answer to a cultural need. That need was compounded out of complex and conflicting desires, but over one hundred years it produced *Utopia*,⁷⁾ Sidney's *Arcadia*, and *The Tempest* each of which uses the arena of a different place and peoples to look firmly back toward society at home.

The non-fictional travel literature shares the idealism common to these fictional works, but the idealism does not extend to the imaging of an alternate instructive society, though at times the Indians are imaged in ways that are fictional: such as the belief that certain initiatory rites (as with the 'Blackeboyces') were cannibalistic.⁸⁾ The chief difficulty with the travel literature is to know when it is describing the land and people under view, or when it is promoting them: either in terms of the easy-to-be-converted nature of the Indian, or their utter depravity and hence the need to conquer first and convert later. (Prior to the massacre of 1622 the milder arguments prevailed.) Moreover, since much of this literature was for overtly promotional purposes, with an eye to profit, it is clear that much in the writings was suppressed. In weighing the prejudice or the

openmindedness of the texts we may not do justice to the many factors involved. But as long as we expect a degree of ambivalence in the English response, and as long as we understand that preconception, prejudice and empathy lie often side by side, then we will go some way towards understanding this delicate, and also brutal meeting of worlds.

One of the earliest and most eloquent reports was that of Arthur Barlowe in 1584-5. This was a voyage equipped by Raleigh for the purposes of finding a strategic vantage point from which to harry the Spanish shipping, and also to examine the ground for the possibility of settlement. Barlowe's discourse was designed to attract support for the next stage of the project, which was colonisation. It was most probably doctored after the event, as D. B. Quinn makes clear in *Roanoke Voyages*,⁹⁾ for the narrative contained information supplied later by the two Indians: Manteo and Wanchese. Nevertheless, it has the freshness of a first impression that seems to bely all its propaganda status:¹⁰⁾ "... wee found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the Golden Age. The earth bringeth forth all things in abundance as in the first creation, without toyle or labour." Indeed, we have here a doublebarrelled appeal to the audience back home: making use of both a classical and a religious framework. It is significant that the author, in order to make such an emotional appeal, and thereby communicate his own enthusiasm, should so stress these aspects: it makes the new land a recognisable and attractive landscape. But following this passage, in which Barlowe recounts the great hospitality with which he and the crew have been treated, we read:¹¹⁾ "When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorie, and gave us into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pots, and all, and brought us to our boates side, in which we laye all night, remooving

the same a pretie distance from the shoare..." The mythic aura is dispelled somewhat by the not unreasonable distrust, and this allows us a glimpse into the complexity of the literary attitudes. For if Virginia was to be Eden, it was also a place of appropriately Satanic treachery: later in the piece Barlowe describes an Indian massacre, one tribe by another, which happened thus:¹²⁾ "They invited divers men, and thirtie women, of the best of His Country, to their Towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merrie, and praying before their Idoll, which is nothing else, but a meere illusion of the Devill: the Captaine or Lorde of the Towne came suddenly upon them, and slewe them every one, reserving the women and children:..." The treachery of the Amerindian became a stock statement in the travel literature: and may well be a function of the settlers' own feelings of vulnerability in a land for which they were often ill-equipped, and often dependent for food on the very natives they were so uncertain of.¹³⁾

Twenty years later George Percy, in a narrative collected by Samuel Purchas, detailed a similar observation to that of Barlowe, wherein the charm of the unpeopled landscape gives way to an appreciation of danger:¹⁴⁾ "The nineteenth day, myselfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a pathway like to an Irish pace: wee were desirous to know whither it would bring us, wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, having the pleasantest suckles, the ground all flowing over with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in England. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits unknowne: wee saw the Woods full Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out Sweet Gummes like to Balsam: wee kept on our way in this Paradise, at length wee came to a Savage Towne, where wee found but few people, they told us the rest

were gone a hunting with the Werowance of Pasipiha: we stayed there a while, and had of them strawberries, and other things: in the meane time one of the Savages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and ranne mainly through the woods: then I beganne to mistrust some villainie...."

Both Barlowe's and Percy's narrative exemplify a further aspect to the travel writing: the distance between rhetorical statements, such as the praise of the landscape, (compare the beginning to the *New Arcadia*), and a more 'realistic' mode which often as not details the difficulties experienced. But this would not be to suggest however that the set-piece nature of the invariable eulogy of the new landscape in any way detracts from the literary effectiveness of the writing: after all, renaissance rhetoric was a literary tool for delivering a specifically heightened effect.

The split between the rhetorical flourish and the more factual description could also take another common form. This involved a rhetorical flourish which dismissed the pagan heathen savagery of the Indian from the standpoint of English culture, and yet in between such flourishes would detail a sympathetic observation. Kupperman in *Settling with the Indians* cites the example of William Wood, who loved the Indian generosity and their disdain for coveting more than they needed, and yet could say their hospitality:¹⁵¹ "Wise Providence being a stranger to their wilder ways: they be right Infidels, neither caring for the morrow, or providing for their own families." Which would seem to be a flat contradiction to what comes later, when he is describing Indian women and their agriculture, observing the process of placing sun-dried grain in their 'barnes' which were large holes in the ground lined with mats or bark in which the corn was stored in baskets. Kupperman suggests that when later writers such as Wood (1634) produce these contradictory state-

ments regarding the native character, it is the formality of the observation that calls forth the preconceptions, whereas in other less formal accountings Wood might be less prejudiced:¹⁶⁾ such as when he describes positive qualities he might well be remembering individual Indians, "Who be wise in their carriage, subtle in their dealings, true in their promise, honest in defraying of their debts... constant in friendship, merrily conceited in discourse, not luxuriously abounding in youth nor dotingly froward in age..."¹⁷⁾

Together with the myths of Paradise that inform the writing, and alongside the more factual descriptions of Indian culture, the writers would preoccupy themselves with explaining the origins of the Indians. This is another example of the originating culture's need to place the foreign culture in a meaningful context. William Strachey, whose *Historie of Travell* was never published in his lifetime, took some pains to assert that the Indians have their origin from Cham, the son who mocked Noah:¹⁸⁾ "...for first from him, the Ignorance of the true worship of God took beginning, the Inventions of Hethenisme, and adoration of false Godes, and the Devill,..." whereas the other sons gave rise to the Jews:¹⁹⁾ "...the Children of Sem and Iaphet, how they being taught by their elders, and content with their owne lymitts and confynes, not travelling beyond them into new Countreys as the other, retayned still (untill the coming of the Messias,) the only knowledge of the eternall, and never chaungeable Truth." The assertion does not in fact imply intrinsic difference between the Indian nation and regenerate England: for as De Bry's *America* makes clear, the British people were once a savage nation:²⁰⁾ De Bry includes engravings of splendidly tattooed early Britons after the etchings of Algonquian Indians encountered in the Roanoke settlement. Indeed, it was the younger brother status of the Indians that made the moral

imperative of carrying the light of true religion to them all the more pressing. Up to 1640 such missionary work came to be seen in the context of the Apocalyptic accomplishment of History.²¹⁾

However, although the biblical explanation of origins was the most common, there were more secular explanations, notably that of Thomas Morton. Morton was an attractive figure, and seems to have been the first to attempt an integrated society in Massachusetts at Ma-Re-Mount, dubbed Merry Mount by the Puritans on account of the unlicensed festivities that went on there. Morton was in the end deported for his ungodly activities. In *New English Canaan* (a title which appropriates a Puritan metaphor, referring to New England as 'The Promised Land'—this was to replace the 'Eden' metaphor as the seventeenth century progressed) Morton describes the Indian language as a mixed language, using words out of both Latin and Greek, and he concludes:²²⁾ "...that the originall of the Natives of New England may well be conjectured to be from the scattered Trojans, after such time as Brutus departed from Latium." In this way the foreign culture is made to mesh with a classical, and even British past: for it was not so long since it had been fashionable to refer to London as Troynovant.

William Strachey was particularly fond of using classical writings with which to frame an explanatory discourse: he compared the buying of corn and wealth to the transactions of ancient Rome, and as Kupperman comments, such classical comparisons both enhanced the picture of the Indians and enhanced his own reputation for learning.²³⁾ Earlier in his *Historie* he had commented:²⁴⁾ "Before their dynners and supperes (as Heliodorus remembers the Egyprians were wont to doe when they sate to meate or at Candle light) the better sort will doe a kynd of sacrifice taking the fyrst bitt, and casting yt into the fier, and to yt repeat certain wordes."

Just as biblical and classical references were used to give an historical framework, so contemporary social models in England were used to explain the foreign society.²⁵⁾ We see in this way that the writers assume a monarchical model in explanations of the operation of Indian Society. In Strachey's *Historie Powhatan*, the chief of the confederacy of Algonquian tribes on the North Carolina coast, is carefully described, and we may note the attention given to denomination:²⁶⁾ "... we may well say how this Tract or Portion of Land, which wee call Virginia Britannia... is governed by a great King, by them called by sondry names, according to his divers places, qualities or honours by himself obteyned, either for his valour his government, or some such like goodnes, which they use to admire and Commend to Succeeding Tymes, with memorable Tytles, and so commonly they of greatest meritt amongst them aspire to many names." This description of Powhatan was at the time of the inflation of honours, and English society during this period was very conscious of the importance of degree and rank. But Powhatan could not be portrayed as too noble, because that would jeopardise the legitimacy of future punitive wars against him: indeed, in Strachey's narrative he becomes an ingenious Machiavell, and has the stock attributes of the Heathen: indulging in 'Hethenish sensuall practice' keeping many wives 'yet as the Turke in one Seraglia or house'.²⁷⁾

It was important to the English commentators to make distinctions between Indians of the 'better sort' and the 'common' people. This kind of distinction may well have been irrelevant to the complexity of Indian society, which was less rigorously hierarchical, and less anxious about articulating difference in those terms. A further aspect to this is also seen in the fact that suspicion, which was the most common response to the Indian, was also the most common reaction of the literate elite to the

vast majority of the population back home. So that the Indian was at times described with due attention to rank and status, and at others was placed at the social level of the rebellious poor in Elizabethan/ Jacobean England. It was thus important to set out clearly the social distinctions in an orderly civil way; or, failing this, where order was absent there should religion and right government follow.²⁸⁾

This was an emphasis which was consistent through the writings. Strachey evidences the concern for rank once again in discussion of the Indian word for leader: and such words quickly became current from the writings of Thomas Harriot onwards. Strachey writes:²⁹⁾ "The word weroance, which wee call and conster for a King, is a Common word, whereby they call all Commanders, for they have but few wordes in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers, more then one Commaunder, which comonly they call weroance."

But when the writings were concerned with stressing the need to 'civilise' a world without order, then a particular idiom was adopted which was shared by most of the texts. This was the determination to 'reduce' the Indian from unruly heathenish freedom to a more righteous civility. This was a declared purpose at the outset, as Christopher Carleill wrote prior to the first Roanoke expeditions in the 1580s:³⁰⁾ "But this is not all the benefit which they shall receive by the christians, for, over and beside the knowledge how to tyl and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from unseemly customes, to honest maners, from disordred riotous rowtes and companies, to a wel governed common wealth.." and this was the precise line adopted by Hakluyt in his *Discourse of Westerne Planting* presented to the Queen at roughly the same time:³¹⁾ "But also many inconveniencies and strifes amongst ourselves at home in matters of Ceremonies shalbe ended: For those of the clergye which by reason of

idleness here at home are nowe always coyning of newe opinions, having by this voyadge to sett themselves on worke in reducinge the Savages to the chefe principles of our faith, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in Relligion alreadie established by auctoritie: so they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongst Brethren be avoyded, so shall the gospell amonge Infidells be published." It was typical of Hakluyt that his project should appear to be so effective on such a broad front: not only were plantations to be profitable, but they were also to promote religious unity at home: a matter of some interest to Elizabeth, as Hakluyt well knew. Later, it was possible to view the process of 'civilization' as one which retrieved submerged elements from the Indian culture itself: H. C. Porter cites the work of Alexander Whitaker:³² "There is a civil government amongst them which they strictly observe, and show thereby that the Law of Nature dwelleth in them. Fot they have a rude kind of commonwealth, and rough government; wherein they both honour and obey their kings, parents and governors, both greater and less; they observe the limits of their own possessions, and encroach not upon their neighbours' dwellings.... These unnurtured grounds of reason in them may serve to encourage us to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, the rewarder of all righteousness, not doubting but that He that was powerful to save us by His word when we were nothing, will be merciful also to these sons of Adam in His appointed time: in whom there be remaining so many footsteps of God's image."

Something of the concern for order and position is communicated clearly in the way the writers discuss women in Indian society. Indian society was a traditional society in that tasks of production were allotted

and shared between the sexes. Early Modern England was in the throes of long term change away from such a society, but it would be a long time before work in England would be seen as the 'male' activity. Nevertheless, almost all the commentators felt that women were working *too much* in the societies they described. And this led to the statement that women were undervalued and mistreated in Indian culture. Karen Kupperman analyses the response in this way:³³ "Colonists' descriptions of the roles of women show a profound ambivalence about women's importance in that society. They recognize the contribution of women to the Indian economy, but their overpowering concern for order and distinctions meant that they feared changes in the power relationships between the sexes." This concern with role even extended to the way English women were viewed in the colonial settlements:³⁴ "Colonial authorities worked constantly to maintain women's roles in the familiar English patterns. They could tolerate neither an enlargement of women's sphere nor a diminution of the protection which they believed traditional forms offered to women."

But the colonists' response to women in Indian society was in part based on a misapprehension, deriving from a misunderstanding of the relative contributions of female and male to the domestic economy. Women were seen to be doing what was accounted 'labour', such as sowing crops, whereas the men seemed to spend their time hunting and fishing, which was accounted pleasure:³⁵ "I saw Bread made by their women which doe all their druggerie. The men takes (sic) their pleasure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually one against another." Concern about work done by women formed part of the concern about woman's proper status: paradoxically, it seems, it was wrong that women took an over large share of the labour, yet it was right that woman be subservient to the husband. In fact there is no paradox here, because

renaissance conceptions of female and male roles entailed strict obligations, and although the male was undoubtedly the head of the household, he was also obliged to exercise his more public role by providing and producing for that household.³⁶⁾ The Indians themselves could be used by the writers as exempla regarding sexual role:³⁷⁾ "An Indian sagomore once hearing an English woman scold with her husband, her quicke utterance exceeding his apprehension, her active lungs thundering in his eares, expelled him the house; from whence he went to the next neighbour, where he related the unseemliness of her behaviour; her language being strange to him, hee expressed it as strangely, telling them how she cryed Nannana Nannana Nannana Nan, saying he was a great foole to give her the audience, and no correction for usurping his charter, and abusing him by her tongue." There was also praise for the modesty of Indian women, and this is commented on by Morton, whereby he states that Indians are ashamed of nakedness, particularly the women: and this is a mark of civility:³⁸⁾ "... which is to be noted in people uncivilized, therein they seem to have as much modesty as civilized people, and deserve to be applauded for it."

A further most interesting and revealing example of the way European culture articulated itself through the vehicle of 'woman' can be seen in De Bry's engravings of John White's sketches of the Algonquian Carolina Indians.³⁹⁾ John White's original sketches are among the most valuable of early ethnographic artifacts in this area, on account of their remarkably objective representation, corroborated by comparison with later ethnographic evidence. De Bry received John White's sketches at second hand, via an engraver called Le Moyne. Le Moyne substantially altered the sketches. The most glaring example is the blond hair of the Indian women, together with the changing of their posture into a decorative pose, rather

than the gawky, askance attitudes in the original sketches. Le Moyne markets the semi-naked women as an object of view, and thus takes care to conventionalise and beautify according to European taste and fashion: the original sketches take more care to preserve detail. De Bry's America was indeed very successful. Kupperman offers an additional explanation of the alterations:⁴⁰ that while dress and other externals were seen as important social indicators, faces and gesture were not, for it was dress that was the clue to social rank and identity in Early Modern England.

With regard to placing the experience of the New World in the context of English culture, there is a metaphor that is consistently made use of: it is that whereby the new land is compared to a woman's body. Hakluyt's dedication to Cecil uses just this metaphor:⁴¹ "Thus Sir I have portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receive her with your wonted and accustomed favour at my handes." The image used is probably a supplicant hand-maiden, and the personification as virgin was in part supplied in the very naming of 'Virginia'. Further, it was common in Classical Literature to personify abstractions as feminine, and nations were traditionally female in the Romance languages. But the personification of America as woman was used to communicate something of the complexity in the attitudes to the colonization.

In *Eastward Hoe!* Jonson, Chapman and Marston used the image to convey something of the get-rich-quick mentality of the early investors: the captain says:⁴² "Come Boyes, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maidenhead". Much later Thomas Morton uses the image in a dedi-

catory poem to his *New England's Canaan*.⁴³

"The more we prove it by discovery,
 ... as if the elements had here
 Bin reconciled, and pleas'd it should appeare,
 like a faire virgin, longing to be sped,
 And meete her lover in a Nuptiall bed,
 Deck'd in rich ornaments t'advantage his state,
 And excellence, being most fortunate,
 When most enjoyed, so would our Canaan be
 If well employ'd by art and industry
 whose offspring, now shewes that her fruitful wombe
 Not being enjoy'd, is like a glorious tomb.."

Here the metaphor is employed to indicate the advantages of the 'New English Canaan', which would provide the prospective colonist with both honour and pleasure; and this is also indicative of the way it was possible to envisage woman's role in marriage in Early Modern England. It would be true to say that the metaphor, although frequent, is used when there is a degree of formal intensity required. This is especially clear in a sermon quoted by Porter, William Symonds' *Virginia*. Symonds ends the preface with a prayer:⁴⁴ Now James "our most sacred sovereign, in whom is the spirit of his great ancestor Constantine, the pacifier of the world and planter of the gospel in places most remote, desireth to present this land a pure virgin to Christ." and later: "Lord, finish this good work thou hast begun; and marry this land, a pure virgin, to thy kingly son Christ Jesus; so shall thy name be magnified, and we shall have a virgin or maiden Britain, a comfortable addition to our Great Britain." This last use of the metaphor is somewhat prophetic: for Virginia and New England are indeed to be young daughters in an eventual family of

nations: Empire.

John Donne made famous use of this very metaphor in *To his Mistress Going to Bed*:⁴⁵⁾

"Licence my roving hands, and let them go
Before, behind, between, above, below.
O my America, my new found land,
My kingdom, safeliest when with one man manned,
My mine of precious stones, my empery,
How blessed am I in thus discovering thee!"

Donne's use of the metaphor shows something of the intensity of the poet's involvement: the woman's body is all the more attractive because it offers unrestricted wealth and power. This tells us something about why the New World was indeed so attractive to gentleman adventurers, in an England where land and status were at an enormous premium.⁴⁶⁾

We have looked at some of the ways the originating culture reacted to and described the astonishing encounter with Indian society. We have seen that there were a number of impelling myths that stimulated the literary and travelling imagination, and that the writings themselves were often ambivalent towards their subject, being concerned with many matters: such as new customs, strange 'devilish' religion, the desire of profit, concern with the home culture, and breaking through now and then: a curious respect for a way of coping with a very foreign environment: Alexander Whitaker exemplifies this form of respect:⁴⁷⁾ "...let us not think that these men are so simple as some have supposed them. For they are of body lusty, strong and very nimble; they are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, sudden in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour. I suppose the world hath no better mark-men with their bows and arrows than

they be. They will kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and beasts running."

Undoubtedly the travel writing brought out much in the culture that was of its period, and the concern with *control* was certainly an important part of that. But it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that it began to be clear that there was some form of difference to be maintained between people of different skin. And by the end of that century white people were well established, and were looking west. At the outset there was much commendable idealism. John White and Thomas Hariot epitomise something of this. Hariot's *Briefe and True Report*, which D. B. Quinn called the jewel of the early colonial literature, contains evocative descriptions (Hariot was something of a scientist) which communicate much of the observer's pleasure. In this passage Hariot is describing the Tobacco libations, and something of a sense of wonder comes across:⁴⁸⁾

"This Uppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are marvelously delighted therewith: wherupon sometime they make hallowed fires and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with the strangest gestures, stamping, sometime dauncing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithall and chattering strange words and noises."

NOTES

- 1) Edmund Spenser, *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, eds., J. C. Smith and Ernest de Selincourt, (Oxford: 1912), "The Faerie Queene", Book II, Proem, stanza 2.

- 2) William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed., F. Kermode, (London: 1954), Act III, sc. ii, 133.
- 3) Christopher Haigh, *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, (London: 1984), p. 9.
- 4) See Sigmund Diamond, "Norumbega: New England Xanadu," *American Neptune* XI (1951): pp. 95-107.
- 5) See George Buker, "The Seven Cities: The Role of a Myth on the Exploration of the Atlantic," *American Neptune* XXX (1970): pp. 249-259.
- 6) See Dorothy Connell, *Sir Philip Sidney: The Maker's Mind*, (Oxford: 1977) p. 131. As Connell points out, there was an increased localisation from the *Old Arcadia* to *The New Arcadia*. Might it not be possible to read this development in the light of topographical interest in the opening of the New World throughout this period?
- 7) See H. C. Porter, *The Inconstant Savage*, (London: 1979), p. 47. *Utopia* was an influence on nostalgia regarding travel writing and colonisation. Porter notes: "Some sixteenth-century writers played with the assumption that the American Indian was living in the Golden Age, and Europe in baser times. Bishop Vasco de Quiroga, for example, a canon lawyer, who organised in Mexico from the 1530s Indian Communities based (he specifically said) on the customs of the natives of Utopia." See also Silvio Zavala, *Thomas More in New Spain: a Utopian Adventure of the Renaissance*: a booklet published in 1955 in the Diamante series, Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, London. (cited by Porter p. 47).
- 8) See Porter pp. 322-3.
- 9) D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: documents to illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the Patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Hakluyt Society series 2 nos 104, 105: 1955), p. 17.
- 10) D. B. Quinn *Roanoke Voyages* p. 108.
- 11) D. B. Quinn *Roanoke Voyages* p. 109.
- 12) D. B. Quinn *Roanoke Voyages* p. 113.
- 13) See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: the meeting of English and Indian cultures in America 1580-1640*, (London: 1980), p. 175.
- 14) George Percy, *Observations gathered out of a Discourse* in Samuel Purchas, ed., *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols., (Glasgow: 1906), vol. XVIII, pp. 403-419. D. B. Quinn ed., *New American World*, 5 vols., (London: 1979), vol. V, p. 271ff.
- 15) Kupperman p. 85.
- 16) Kupperman p. 121.
- 17) William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, (London: 1634), pp. 78-9.
- 18) William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britannia*, eds., L. B. Wright and V. Freund, (London, Hakluyt Society, series 2, no 103: 1953), p. 54.
- 19) Strachey *Historie* p. 55.
- 20) See Paul H. Hulton and D. B. Quinn, eds., *The American Drawings of John White 1577-1590*, 2 vols., (London: 1964). This includes De Bry and Le Moyne.

On the subject of the past 'savage' Briton, Porter p. 374 cites William Crashaw, *A New Year's Gift to Virginia*, (London: 1610): "Time was 'when we were savage and uncivil, and worshipped the Devil, as they do now. Then God sent some to make us civil, others to make us Christians. If such had not been sent us, we had yet continued wild and uncivil, and worshippers of the Devil... And shall we not now labour to procure the same to others?'"

- 21) Porter p. 264 cites Edward Hayes, *Report of 1583 Gilbert Expedition*, in D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, (London, Hakluyt Society series 2, nos 84, 85: 1940). Hayes is discussing the spreading of God's word: "For like as the same began in the East in Paradise, and moved westward into Palestine and at length into Europe, there beginning in the east also, proceeded by south unto the west, and spread afterwards north, even so from Europe it hath continued his revolution west into America. Notice it began east, proceeded south and west, and may happily more purely be preached also in the north by us. Unto which time (this being the last of the last age of the world) we are now arrived; and therefore may hope by so much the more of our good success in this action now, seeing the last days are come upon us, and that now or never their conversion is to be expected."
- 22) Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and other papers, relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, 4 vols. (Washington D. C. ; 1836-47: reprinted New York, 1947) vol. II, p. 18.
- 23) Strachey *Historie* p. 115.
- 24) Strachey *Historie* p. 98.
- 25) Compare what Richard Marius notes of Ralph Robinson's translation of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, ed., Richard Marius (London, Everyman: 1978), p. xi. Marius is discussing Robinson's errors: "The most serious is that he converted a solidly republican Utopia into a monarchy... Robinson translated 'principem' as 'prince', ignoring More's frequent use of the common Latin word 'rex' throughout *Utopia* whenever he wished to speak of kings of other lands, including England."
- 26) Strachey *Historie* p. 56.
- 27) Strachey *Historie* p. 61.
- 28) See Christopher Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England*, (London: 1974) pp. 19-20.
- 29) Strachey *Historie* p. 59.
- 30) D. B. Quinn *Gilbert* p. 468.
- 31) E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *The Writing and the Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, (London, Hakluyt Society, series 2, nos 76, 77: 1935), p. 214.
- 32) Alexander Whitaker, *Good Newes from Virginia*, (London: 1613), pp. 26-7.
- 33) Kupperman p. 61.
- 34) Kupperman p. 156.

- 35) D.B. Quinn *New American World*, (George Percy's narrative) vol. V, p. 272.
- 36) Further examination of issues touched on here can be found in: Sheila Ardener, ed., *Perceiving Women*, (New York: 1975). R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, (Boston, Mass.: 1977). Alice Clark, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, (Reprinted, London: 1972). L. Duffin and L. Charles, *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England*, (London: 1985). I. Maclean *The Renaissance Notion of Woman* (Cambridge: 1980). Mary Prior, ed., *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, (London: 1985).
- 37) Kupperman p. 61, citing William Wood.
- 38) P. Force *Tracts* vol. II p. 23.
- 39) See P. H. Hulton and D. B. Quinn. See P. H. Hulton's article "Images of the New World: J. Le Moyne de Morgue and John White," in K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. Hair, eds., *The Westward Enterprise*, (Liverpool: 1978), p. 196.
- 40) Kupperman p. 34.
- 41) Richard Hakluyt ed., *The Principal Navigations and Voyages of the English Nation*, (London: 1600), dedicatory preface to Sir Robert Cecil.
- 42) C. H. Hereford and P. and E. Simpson, eds., *Ben Jonson: Works*, 11 vols., (Oxford: 1932), vol. 4, p. 569, Act III sc. iii 18.
- 43) P. Force *Tracts* vol. II, p. 10.
- 44) Porter p. 344. William Symonds, *Virginia: a sermon Preached at Whitechapel in the presence of...the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia, April 25, 1609* (London: 1609).
- 45) A. J. Smith, ed., *John Donne: The Complete English Poems*, (London, Penguin: 1971), p. 124.
- 46) See Joyce Youings, ed., *Raleigh in Exeter 1985*, (Exeter: 1985), p. 54. Her article ("Did Raleigh's England need Colonies?") states: "What I am suggesting is that for ambitious young gentlemen, especially younger sons, colonial territory offered opportunities not only of immediate wealth but also of the establishment of a landed dynasty not easily available in England."
- 47) Whitaker p. 25.
- 48) D. B. Quinn *Roanoke Voyages* p. 345.

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